

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 ISLAMA 02674 01 OF 05 310955Z

21

ACTION NEA-09

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-02

INR-07 L-02 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15

USIA-06 SAM-01 OMB-01 EB-07 AID-05 ACDA-05 AGR-05

TRSE-00 LAB-04 SIL-01 CU-02 /097 W
----- 042925

R 290826Z MAR 75

FM AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9380

INFO AMEMBASSY COLOMBO

AMEMBASSY DACCA

AMEMBASSY KABUL

AMCONSUL KARACHI

AMEMBASSY KATHMANDU

AMCONSUL LAHORE

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI

AMEMBASSY TEHRAN

CINCPAC

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 5 ISLAMABAD 2674

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT, PGOVN PINS, PK

SUBJECT: PAKISTAN QUARTERLY INTERNAL POLITICAL ASSESSMENT

SUMMARY: AS SO OFTEN IN PAKISTAN'S SHORT HISTORY,
GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS ARE OVERWHELMINGLY IN THE HANDS
OF ONE MAN -- NOW PRIME MINISTER BHUTTO. HIS PEOPLES'
PARTY RULE IS BASED ON ITS OVERWHELMING MAJORITY IN
PARLAMENT AND THE PROVINCIAL ASSEMBLIES IN SIND AND
PUNJAB. BHUTTO'S CONTROL OVER LEVERS OF POWER AT THE
CENTER PLUS THE WEAKNESS OF OTHER, TRADITIONALLY STRONG
INSTITUTIONS, HAS PERMITTED HIM TO EXTEND HIS SUPREMACY
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 ISLAMA 02674 01 OF 05 310955Z

TO THE OTHER TWO PROVINCES. IN THE MIDST OF THIS

SUCCESS, HOWEVER, BHUTTO CONTINUES TO GRAPPLE WITH SOME PERSISTENT PROBLEMS AND SUFFERED SOME SETBACKS DURING THE CURRENT QUARTER. THE RISE IN REGIONAL RIVALRY; THE DIFFICULTY IN DEVELOPING AN ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE, DISCIPLINE AND MASS BASE FOR THE RULING PARTY; AND THE CONFRONTATION BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT AND OPPOSITION ALL HAVE UNPLEASANT ECHOES FROM PAKISTAN'S TROUBLED PAST.

AN IMPORTANT SETBACK WAS THE DEATH OF SHERPAO IN FEBRUARY WHICH REMOVED THE LINCHPIN OF THE NWFP PPP AND THE COALITION GOVERNMENT. WHILE BHUTTO'S COMMAND OVER THE PROVINCE IS NOT IN DOUBT, HE FACED SERIOUS OBSTACLES IN BUILDING AN EFFECTIVE, ORGANIZED, POPULAR PARTY THERE. IN THE HEARTLAND OF HIS POWER, PUNJAB, THE PPP GOVERNMENT FACES LITTLE EFFECTIVE OPPOSITION BUT HAS NOT OVERCOME PERSISTENT FACTIONAL FEUDING. THE RETURN OF STRONGMAN MUSTAFA KHAR MAY ADD TO THE DIVISIVENESS. THE PM'S TOURS OF THE PUNJAB COUNTRYSIDE EXPOSED SOME PUBLIC DISSATISFACTION OVER A SERIES OF ECONOMIC PROBLEMS AND THE LACK OF SPONTANEITY AND REDUCED ENTHUSIASM SUGGESTS THAT HIS POPULARITY IS DOWN FROM A YEAR AGO. IN AZAD KASHMIR, THE FLEDGLING PEOPLES' PARTY FACES A MUCH BETTER ORGANIZED, BUT FEUDING MUSLIM CONFERENCE IN THE UPCOMING ELECTIONS.

ELSEWHERE, SIND IS QUIET, JATOI'S GOVERNMENT THERE POPULAR. IN BALUCHISTAN THE ADMINISTRATION'S PERFORMANCE IS VISIBLY IMPROVED, DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS ARE MATERIALIZING AND PUBLIC SECURITY MAINTAINED FOR THE PRESENT. THE GOVERNMENT BAN OF THE PRINCIPAL OPPOSITION GROUP, THE NATIONAL AWAMI PARTY, IS BEING REVIEWED BY THE SUPREME COURT. THAT FRONTIER/BALUCHISTAN BASED ORGANIZATION IS PREPARING ITS LEGAL DEFENSE. OTHER OPPOSITION PARTIES HAVE RALLIED TO PROTEST, BOYCOTTING THE ASSEMBLIES AND BY-ELECTIONS. DESPITE THIS STEP TOWARD AUTHORITARIANISM, WE EXPECT THAT BHUTTO WILL NOT OPT FOR ONE-PARTY RULE BUT WILL HOLD ON TO THE FACADE OF DEMOCRACY. HE PROBABLY HOPES THAT AN UPTURN IN THE ECONOMY WILL REDUCE PUBLIC DISSATISFACTIONS AND THAT GOVERNMENT

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 ISLAMA 02674 01 OF 05 310955Z

PATRONAGE CAN NEUTRALIZE OLD OPPONENTS. WE HAVE NO DOUBTS ABOUT BHUTTO'S PRESENT PREEMINENT POSITION AND ABILITY TO DIRECT PAKISTAN'S CENTRAL AND PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENTS. BUT, THE CYCLE OF CONFRONTATION/REPRESSION COULD ALSO TEAR THE POLITICAL FABRIC OF PAKISTAN OVER THE LONGER TERM. THIS REPORT WAS WRITTEN IN CONSULTATION WITH THE CONSULATE'S WHOSE REPRESENTATIVES REVIEWED THE DRAFT AND MADE VALUABLE CONTRIBUTIONS AT A POLITICAL

OFFICERS' CONFERENCE AT THE EMBASSY. END SUMMARY.

1. PRIME MINISTER BHUTTO CONTINUES TO CONTROL THE LEVERS OF POWER IN THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT AND TO MONOPOLIZE THE POLITICAL SYSTEM WORKING THROUGH HIS PARTY, THE BUREAUCRACY, AND HIS GOVERNMENT'S OVERWHELMING MAJORITY IN THE PARLIAMENT. NEVERTHELESS, REGIONAL RIVALRY IS ON THE INCREASE, PUBLIC DISSATISFACTION OVER A HOST OF ECONOMIC PROBLEMS IS COMING TO THE FORE, THE ALWAYS-FRAGILE DIALOGUE BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT AND OPPOSITION PARTIES HAS BROKEN DOWN AND THE PEOPLE'S PARTY AND THE GOVERNMENTS IN NWFP, PUNJAB AND AZAD KASHMIR ARE IN A TROUBLED STATE OF FLUX.

2. CONSOLIDATING CENTRAL CONTROL. THE PEOPLE'S PARTY RULE IS BASED ON ITS OVERWHELMING MAJORITY IN PARLIAMENT AND THE PROVINCIAL ASSEMBLIES IN SIND AND PUNJAB. BHUTTO CONTINUES TO CENTRALIZE INTO HIS OWN HANDS CONTROL OVER ALMOST EVERY ASPECT OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT, TO EXTEND CENTRAL AUTHORITY INTO THE TRIBAL TERRITORIES AND THE NORTHERN AREAS, AND TO PARLAY HIS STRENGTH AT THE CENTER INTO SUPREMACY OVER THE OTHER TWO PROVINCES AND CONSIDERABLE POWER IN AZAD KASHMIR. THERE ARE FEW INSTITUTIONS WHICH STAND IN HIS WAY TO ABSOLUTE RULE. THE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT IS POWERLESS, ITS OCCUPANT A CEREMONIAL FIGUREHEAD. THE CENTRAL CABINET IS MADE UP OF MEN ALMOST TOTALLY DEPENDENT UPON THE PRIME MINISTER. THE PARLIAMENT IS A PLIANT TOOL AND IS USUALLY PREEMPTED IN IMPORTANT POLICY MATTERS BY PRESIDENTIAL ORDINANCES.

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 ISLAMA 02674 02 OF 05 310432Z

10

ACTION NEA-09

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-02

INR-07 L-02 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15

USIA-06 SAM-01 OMB-01 EB-07 AID-05 ACDA-05 AGR-05

TRSE-00 LAB-04 SIL-01 CU-02 /097 W

----- 041137

R 290826Z MAR 75
FM AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9381
INFO AMEMBASSY COLOMBO
AMEMBASSY DACCA
AMEMBASSY KABUL
AMCONSUL KARACHI
AMEMBASSY KATHMANDU
AMCONSUL LAHORE
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI
AMEMBASSY TEHRAN
CINCPAC

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 5 ISLAMABAD 2674

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

3. OF OTHER ELEMENTS IN THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT, BHUTTO HAS MOVED NOT ONLY TO NEUTRALIZE THE BUREAUCRACY-- EVEN AT THE LOCAL LEVEL--BUT TO DEVELOP IT INTO AN INSTRUMENT RESPONSIVE TO HIMSELF AND HIS PARTY. THE MILITARY POSES NO PRESENT THREAT TO BHUTTO'S CONTINUING CIVILIAN CONTROL, AND HIS SUCCESS IN WINNING A LIFTING OF ARMS EMBARGO HAS BOOSTED HIS STOCK WITH THEM. THE PRIME MINISTER HAS BUILT UP AN INTERNAL SECURITY AND INTELLIGENCE APPARATUS DIRECTLY ANSWERABLE TO HIMSELF. THE JUDICIARY -- ESPECIALLY IN THE HIGHER COURTS -- CONTINUES TO CLING TO ITS INDEPENDENCE, BUT IS UNDER GREAT PRESSURE TO RENDER DECISIONS FAVORABLE TO THE GOVERNMENT. THE NATIONAL
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 ISLAMA 02674 02 OF 05 310432Z

NEW MEDIA IS LARGELY CONTROLLED, DIRECTLY OR INDIRECTLY.

4. THE BHUTTO GOVERNMENT HAS INCREASINGLY PUT THE SCREWS ON ITS CRITICS AND OPPOSITION PARTIES. THE MOST DRAMATIC WAS, OF COURSE, DISSOLUTION OF THE PRINCIPAL OPPOSITION, THE NATIONAL AWAMI PARTY (NAP), AND ARREST OF ITS LEADERS IN THE AFTERMATH OF SHERPAO'S ASSASSINATION. THE UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT (UDF) AND THE TEHRIK-I-ISTIQLAL HAVE MADE SPEAKING TOURS OF FOUR PROVINCES. SINCE SEPTEMBER WITH SOME SUCCESS IN SPITE OF OCCASIONAL OBSTACLES TO THEIR FREE MOVEMENT AND FREQUENT BANS PLACED ON PUBLIC MEETINGS IMPOSED BY THE GOVERNMENT. PARLIAMENTARY OPPOSITION BOYCOTTED THE ASSEMBLIES IN LATE JANUARY, PROTESTING PARTISAN TREATMENT Y PRESIDING OFFICERS, ASSEMBLIES' STAFFS AND GOVERNMENT-CONTROLLED NEWS MEDIA AND DEMANDING AN END TO OFFICIAL HARASSMENT OF THE OPPOSITION OUTSIDE THE ASSEMBLIES. A TENTATIVE AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE GOP

AND THE UDF WAS CONCLUDED ON FEBRUARY 6, ONLY TO BREAK APART AFTER THE CRACKDOWN ON NAP.

5. CENTRIFUGAL FORCES. CONCURRENT WITH THESE CENTRALIZING TRENDS, SOME CENTRIFUGAL FORCES WERE OPERATING TO FRUSTRATE BHUTTO'S CONTROL. REGIONAL CHAUVINISM, DAMPENED DOWN BY THE CONSTITUTIONAL COMPROMISE IN 1973, HAS BEEN ON THE RISE. THE MOST SPECTACULAR DISPLAY WAS THE BALUCHISTAN INSURGENCY, AT ITS HEIGHT LAST SUMMER. THE BAN ON NAP THREATENS TO EXACERBATE PATHAN GRIEVANCES IN NWFP. MUMTAZ ALI BHUTTO HAS RAISED PUNJABI HACKLES BY AGGRESSIVELY PUSHING SINDHI INTERESTS WITHIN HIS FEDERAL COMMUNICATIONS MINISTRY. IN PUNJAB, "PUNJAB-FIRST" SENTIMENTS ARE ON THE RISE IN BUSINESS AND POLITICS. SUCH DIVISIVENESS HAS HISTORICALLY BEEN A SOURCE OF WEAKNESS FOR PAKISTAN AND THE INABILITY TO WORK OUT A MUTUALLY AGREEABLE COMPROMISE LED, ULTIMATELY, TO THE BREAKAWAY OF EAST PAKISTAN.

6. BHUTTO CONTINUES TO HAVE DIFFICULTY BUILDING UP A PARTY STRUCTURE AND APPARATUS. WHILE EVERYONE AGREES BHUTTO IS CHIEF, THERE IS NO AGREEMENT ON THE HIERARCHY
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 ISLAMA 02674 02 OF 05 310432Z

OF LEADERS BELOW HIM. SECOND-LEVEL LEADERS ARE CONSTANTLY INVOLVED IN A BEHIND THE SCENES TUG OF WAR IN THE FORM OF PERSONAL FEUDS AND FACTIONAL RIVALRY. THE SIND PARTY IS POLARIZED BETWEEN MUSTAFA JATOI AND MUMTAZ ALI BHUTTO, AND KHAR AND RAMAY CONTINUE TO WORK AT CROSS PURPOSES IN PUNJAB.

7. WORK ON ENROLLMENT OF NEW MEMBERS AND WEEDING OUT UNDESIRABLE OLD ONES IS PROCEEDING SLOWLY IN THESE TWO PROVINCES. THE APPOINTMENT OF MUBASHIR HASSAN AS NATIONAL PARTY SECRETARY GENERAL HAS MADE NO TRSERVABLE IMPACT ON PARTY FUNCTIONING. THE RIVALRY BETWEEN PARTY OLD-TIMERS AND THE "JOHNNIES-COME-LATELY" IS AN OBSTACLE TO PARTY SOLIDARITY. HISTORICALLY, POLITICAL PARTIES IN PAKISTAN HAVE REVOLVED AROUND INDIVIDUALS NOT ISSUES, HAVE SPLIT OVER LEADERSHIP STRUGGLES, AND, FOR THE MOST PART, HAVE LACKED BOTH AN EFFECTIVE ORGANIZATION, DISCIPLINE AND MASS BASE. THEIR FAILURE TO DEVELOP AS INSTITUTIONS HAS BEEN AN IMPORTANT FACTOR IN CONTINUING POLITICAL INSTABILITY IN PAKISTAN. BHUTTO'S PARTY BUILDING HAS NOT OVERCOME THESE HISTORICAL PITFALLS. IF BHUTTO IS TO SURVIVE AS PAKISTAN'S LEADER OVER THE LONG-TERM, IT MAY WELL BE ESSENTIAL THAT HE ESTABLISH AN EFFECTIVE PARTY STRUCTURE, RESPONSIVE TO THE PUBLIC WILL AND LOYAL TO HIS DIRECTION.

8. RECONSTITUTING THE PPP AND COALITION GOVERNMENT
IN NWFP. THE DEATH OF SHERPAO BROUGHT TO THE FOREFRONT
BHUTTO'S PROBLEM OF EXERTING CONTROL IN AREAS WHERE HIS
OWN PARTY IS WELCOME. HE STILL CONTROLS THE LEVERS OF

POWER THROUGH THE BUREAUCRACY AND HE CAN EXTEND CENTRAL
RULE SO LONG AS HE SEES FIT. NEVERTHELESS, THE RETURN
TO LEGISLATIVE RULE LED BY HIS PARTY IS FRAUGHT WITH
DIFFICULTIES. THE PM CONSTRUCTED A FRAGILE COALITION
(24 SEATS IN A HOUSE OF 42) IN ALLIANCE WITH THE QAIYUM
MUSLIM LEAGUE (QML), INDEPENDENTS AND OTHERS BASED ON
PERSONAL TIES, GREED AND FEAR. PPP'S REPUTATION WAS
NOT ENHANCED WHEN SHERPAO TOOK OVER DE FACTO LEADER-
SHIP OF COALITION GOVERNMENT BUT HAD TO TOLERATE EVEN
THE MOST BLATANTLY CORRUPT, INEPT COALITION LEGISLATORS
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 ISLAMA 02674 02 OF 05 310432Z

BECAUSE OF THE NARROWNESS OF HIS GOVERNMENT'S MAJORITY.

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 ISLAMA 02674 03 OF 05 310458Z

10

ACTION NEA-09

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-02

INR-07 L-02 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15

USIA-06 SAM-01 OMB-01 EB-07 AID-05 AGR-05 ACDA-05

TRSE-00 LAB-04 SIL-01 CU-02 /097 W

----- 041240

R 290826Z MAR 75

FM AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9382

INFO AMEMBASSY COLOMBO

AMEMBASSY DACCA

AMEMBASSY KABUL

AMCONSUL KARACHI

AMEMBASSY KATHMANDU
AMCONSUL LAHORE
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI
AMEMBASSY TEHRAN
CINCPAC

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 3 OF 5 ISLAMABAD 2674

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

THE QUESTION OF GOVERNMENT LEADERSHIP WAS NOT SATIS-
FACTORILY SETTLED: SHERPAO PERSONALLY LACKED THE
SUPPORT OF THE LEGISLATORS AND VIED WITH THE
NOMINAL CHIEF MINISTER. THE PROVINCIAL PARTY BRANCH
WAS DISUNITED. THE PARTY'S SOCIALIST AND SECULAR IMAGE
IS NOT POPULAR WITH THE PEOPLE OF THE FRONTIER. BHUTTO
HIMSELF IS VIEWED CRITICALLY AS AN "OUTSIDE," IMPOSING
HIS WILL FROM ISLAMABAD UPON A RELUCTANT NWFP THROUGH
THE USE OF THE BUREAUCRACY AND HIS "MANIPULATED" NWFP
ASSEMBLY MAJORITY.

9. SHERPAO'S DEATH HAS REMOVED THE LINCHPIN OF THE
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 ISLAMA 02674 03 OF 05 310458Z

PROVINCIAL PARTY AND COALITION GOVERNMENT. THE PRIME
MINISTER IS IN THE PROCESS OF REBUILDING THEM BOTH AND
DECLARED GOVERNORS' RULE SO THAT HE MIGHT CONCENTRATE
ON THE FORMER. HE APPEARS TO HAVE DECIDED AGAINST
REINSTATING QAIYUM KHAN (FORMER CHIEF MINISTER)
OR ASLAM KHATTAK (FORMER GOVERNOR) -- EACH WITH THEIR
OWN POWER BASE IN NWFP -- BUT TO HAVE OPTED FOR BUILDING
UP THE PARTY AND GOVERNMENT FROM WITHIN PPP RANKS.

10. NASRULLAH KHAN KHATTAK, BROUGHT BACK TO TAKE OVER
SHERPAO'S MANTEL, IS NOT LIKELY TO BE ANY MORE SUCCESS-
FUL THAN SHERPAO IN DEVELOPING THE PPP INTO A POPULAR,
MASS PARTY. ALTHOUGH NASRULLAH IS ADMIRER AS A PERSON
AMONG FRONTIER POLITICIANS, HIS POLITICAL ACUMEN IS
QUESTIONED. THE APRIL 6 BY-ELECTION TO FILL SHERPAO'S
SEAT IN THE ASSEMBLY WILL BE HIS FIRST TEST. NOW THAT
THE UDF HAS DECIDED TO BOYCOTT THE ELECTION, HE IS ALMOST
CERTAIN TO WIN AND IT APPEARS THAT BHUTTO IS GROOMING
HIM AS THE NEXT CHIEF MINISTER. TO DO SO THE PM WILL
HAVE TO GET THE AGREEMENT OF DISGRUNTLED COALITION
LEGISLATORS WHO ARE UNHAPPY OVER THE CABINET DISMISSAL.
HE WILL BE AIDED BY THE FACT THAT MANY OF THE 14 NAP
MEMBERS OF THE PROVINCIAL ASSEMBLY (MPA'S) WILL REMAIN
IN DETENTION AND UNABLE TO VOTE WHILE THE SUPREME
COURT CONSIDERS THE CASE AGAINST THE PARTY.

11. DISQUIET IN PUNJAB. PUNJAB REMAINS A PPP STRONG-HOLD AND THE BASIS OF BHUTTO'S POWER. WHILE THERE IS NO QUESTION OF A SERIOUS SLIP THERE, HE CONTINUES TO FACE PROBLEMS WHICH MERIT WATCHING. RIVALRY BETWEEN MUSTAFA KHAR AND HANIF RAMAY HAS PREVENTED THE SMOOTH WORKING OF BOTH THE PARTY AND THE PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT WITH CONSEQUENT DAMAGE TO THE PARTY'S PUBLIC IMAGE. PERSISTENT RUMORS, ESPECIALLY SINCE JANUARY, OF A CHANGE IN GOVERNMENT ADDED TO THE UNCERTAINTY. KHAR'S SWEARING IN AS GOVERNOR MARCH 14 STILL LEAVES MANY QUESTIONS UNANSWERED: CAN HE WORK WITH CHIEF MINISTER RAMAY? WILL HE TRY TO EXERT MORE POWER THAN THE CONSTITUTION GIVES TO HIS OFFICE? WILL HE RETALIATE AGAINST THOSE MNA'S AND MPA'S WHO ENGINEERED HIS DOWNFALL A YEAR AGO? THE ANSWERS ARE BASED PARTIALLY ON WHAT
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 ISLAMA 02674 03 OF 05 310458Z

BACKING KHAR RECEIVES FROM BHUTTO AND PARTIALLY ON KHAR'S OWN CHARACTER LIMITATIONS. WE PREDICT THAT THE POWER STRUGGLE WILL GO ON, CONTINUING TO WEAKEN THE PARTY IN THIS CRUCIAL PROVINCE. BHUTTO'S MOTIVE IS UNCLEAR: WE ARE TOLD HE PREFERS KHAR'S DECISIVENESS AND TIES TO RURAL LEADERS. GOVERNMENT CRITICS SUGGEST THAT KHAR'S ROLE WILL BE TO ENSURE GOVERNMENT MANIPULATION OF THE POLLS IN ELECTIONS THEY PREDICT WILL BE HELD THIS YEAR.

12. OF EQUAL IMPORTANCE IS THE APPARENT DROP IN POPULARITY OF THE PRIME MINISTER IN THE PUNJAB COUNTRY-SIDE OVER THAT OF A YEAR AGO. HIS TOURS OF BEHAWALPUR, MULTAN AND RAWALPINDI DIVISIONS, MUCH TRUMPETED BY THE PRESS, ENCOUNTERED SMALL BUT PERSISTENT DEMONSTRATIONS OF HOSTILITY AND THE MASS AUDIENCES WERE MORE DIFFICULT TO TURN OUT. BHUTTO'S "OPEN KUTCHERIES" (GRIEVANCE AIRINGS) ARE MANIPULATED BY LOCAL OFFICIALS SO THAT THE PRIME MINISTER IS ISOLATED FROM SOME ASPECTS OF PUBLIC FEELING. MOST GRIEVANCES ARE ECONOMIC -- THE HIGH COST AND OCCASIONAL SCARCITY OF STAPLES AT GOVERNMENT CONTROLLED PRICES, THE HIGH COST OF AGRICULTURAL INPUTS, DEMANDS FOR MORE SCHOOLS, HEALTH FACILITIES, HOUSES, EMPLOYMENT, ETC. (ALTHOUGH THE RURAL POPULATIONS' POSITION MAY OBJECTIVELY BE NO WORSE AND PERHAPS BETTER THAN BEFORE, THE PERSISTENT REPORTS OF THE ARTICULATION OF THEIR DISSATISFACTIONS IS NOTEWORTHY.) COUNTRYWIDE, BUT ESPECIALLY PUNJAB, BHUTTO IS CREDITED WITH THE CHANGE IN U.S. ARMS SUPPLY POLICY.

13. CAMPAIGNING IN AZAD KASHMIR. ELECTIONS IN AZAD KASHMIR, POSTPONED FROM NOVEMBER, ARE NOW SCHEDULED

MAY 15. BHUTTO PROBABLY VIEWS THIS "STATE" AS IMPORTANT BOTH AS A HOLD OUT TO HIS PARTY'S CONTROL AND AS AN AREA OF VULNERABILITY IN GOP RELATIONS WITH INDIA. THE FLEDGLING A.K. PEOPLES' PARTY (AKPP) FACES TOUGH COMPETITION FROM THE POPULAR A.K. PRESIDENT, SARDAR QAYYUM, AND HIS RULING MUSLIM CONFERENCE (MC). THE PPP'S IMAGE AS A SOCIALIST AND SECULAR PARTY IS CONSIDERED SUSPECT BY THE TRADITIONAL AND RELIGIOUS KASHMIRIS. ALTHOUGH THE PUBLIC IS GRATEFUL FOR INCREASED DEVELOP-
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 ISLAMA 02674 03 OF 05 310458Z

MENT FUNDS, THEY DISAPPROVE OF NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS WITH INDIA.

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 ISLAMA 02674 04 OF 05 310522Z

10

ACTION NEA-09

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-02

INR-07 L-02 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15

USIA-06 SAM-01 OMB-01 EB-07 AID-05 ACDA-05 AGR-05

TRSE-00 LAB-04 SIL-01 CU-02 /097 W

----- 041350

R 290826Z MAR 75

FM AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9383

INFO AMEMBASSY COLOMBO

AMEMBASSY DACCA

AMEMBASSY KABUL

AMCONSUL KARACHI

AMEMBASSY KATHMANDU

AMCONSUL LAHORE

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI

AMEMBASSY TEHRAN

CINCPAC

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 4 OF 5 ISLAMABAD 2674

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

14. CAMPAIGNING HAS BEEN GOING ON SINCE SEPTEMBER. LAST MONTH'S PPP-MC NO-CONTEST PACT HAS FALLEN THROUGH; THE MC ITSELF IS SPLIT BETWEEN QAYYUM AND MC PARTY PRESIDENT SARDAR IBRAHIM; THE OPPOSITION PARTIES ARE TRYING TO FORGE A UNITED FRONT. THE STAKES ARE HIGH: BHUTTO, WE PRESUME, IS WORKING FOR AN ASSEMBLY MAJORITY SO THAT HE CAN HAVE--AT THE MINIMUM--THE VICEREGAL SYSTEM WHICH OPERATED IN NWFP, AN OUTCOME QAYYUM WANTS TO PREVENT. THE ELECTION RESULT -- IN A NO-HOLDS-BARRED CAMPAIGN -- IS IN DOUBT.

15. QUIET IN SIND. IN SIND, THE PARTY AND PROVINCIAL
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 ISLAMA 02674 04 OF 05 310522Z

GOVERNMENT APPEAR TO BE IN RELATIVELY GOOD HEALTH. CHIEF MINISTER JATOI IS POPULAR AND HE HAS MADE SOME INROADS INTO THE CITIES AND AMONG MAHAJIRS (REFUGEES) AND BUSINESS CIRCLES WHICH HAVE LONG BEEN ANTI-BHUTTO BASTIONS. PM'S POSITION AND POWER ARE SPECTED BY THE SINDHIS: MUMTAZ ALI BHUTTO'S BLATANT CHAMPIONSHIP OF RURAL SINDHI'S INTERESTS IS VERY POPULAR IN THE COUNTRYSIDE. SINDHI LANDOWNERS (THE OVERWHELMING MAJORITY OF LEADERS THERE) HAVE THE SAME PUBLIC GIREVANCES AS A YEAR AGO -- LOW AGRICULTURAL PRICES, HIGH COST OF INPUTS AND GROWNING TROUBLES WITH THEIR TENANTS -- AND PRIVATELY THEY ARE FEARFUL OF FURTHER LAND REFORMS. MUMTAZ ALI BHUTTO CONTINUES TO FUEL INTRO-PARTY RIVALRY IN THE PROVINCE AND HIS PREFERENTIAL TREATMENT FOR SINDHIS IN THE CENTRAL RAILROAD ADMINISTRATION HAS TKEN ON ANTI-PUNJABI OVERTONES.

14. CONTINUING PROGRESS IN BALUCHISTAN. THERE IS NOT MUCH CHANGE IN BALUCHISTAN SINCE THE LAST QUARTERLY REPORT. THE IMPROVEMENT IN THE SECURITY SITUATION NOTED IN THAT REPORT HAS BEEN MAINTAINED AND THE PROVINCE APPEARED QUIET FOLLOWING THE ARREST OF NAP LEADERS IN FEBRUARY. THE LEGISLATIVE COALITION MAJORITY REMAINS NARROW BUT APPARENTLY SAFE. EFFORTS TO WOO THE NAP MPA'S CONTINUE, BUT WITHOUT SUCCESS. THE CHIEF MINISTER AND THE GOVERNOR'S SON HAVE JOINED THE SMALL, AMORPHOUS PPP. THE PERFORMANCE OF THE QADIR CABINET IS NO BETTER BUT THE PROVINCIAL ADMINISTRATION HAS IMPROVED; THIS IS ESPECIALLY APPARENT IN THE EXPENDITURE OF DEVELOPMENT FUNDS. VIEWS CONCERNING THE FUTURE OF THE QUIESCENT INSURGENCY ARE MIXED. SOME OBSERVERS FEEL

THAT MANGAL AND MARRI TRIBESMEN ARE MERELY WAITING
FOR BETTWE WEATHER TO RENEW GUERRILLA OPERATIONS.
OTHERS HOLD THAT THE BLOWS THEY HAVE SUFFERED AND THEIR

PARLOUS SUPPLY SITUATION RULE OUT THIS POSSIBILITY. THE
GOP APPEARS DETERMINED TO KEEP TOP NAP SARDARS IN JAIL
WHILE SIMULTANEOUSLY WOOING THE LEADERS OF THE SMALLER
TRIBES AND THE LESSER LEADERS OF THE MAJOR ONES WITH
TRIBAL SUBSIDIES. WHILE THE ARMY IS NOT LIKELY TO
DEPART SOON, THEIR CIVIC-ACTION PROJECTS ARE INCREASINGLY
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 ISLAMA 02674 04 OF 05 310522Z

VISIBLE AND PRESUMABLY POPULAR WITH THE PEOPLE.

17. THE OPPOSITION PARTIES AND OTHER GOVERNMENT CRITICS.
NAP IS BANNED BUT NOT A SPENT FORCE. THE GOP ACT
DISSOLVING THE PARTY MUST NOW BE REVIEWED BY THE SUPREME
COURT TO DETERMIN WHETHER IT WAS "OPERATING IN A MANNER
PREJUDICIAL TO THE INTEGRITY AND SOVEREIGNTY" OF THE
COUNTRY. WHILE THE GOP IS UNLIKELY TO BE ABLE TO PROVE
NAP'S RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE EXPLOSION WHICH KILLED
SHERPAO, IT MAY BE ABLE TO WIN ITS CASE ON THE GROUNDS
THAT NAP'S ACTIONS "THREATENED PUBLIC TRANQUILITY" AND
"INCITED DISAFFECTION AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT." SHOULD
THE SUPREME COURT -- DESPITE GOP PRESSURE -- RULE IN
FAVOR OF NAP, BHUTTO WOULD LOSE FACE BUT NOT POWER IN
PARLIAMENT. IT WOULD, HOWEVER, ADD TO HIS DIFFICULTY
IN RECONSTITUTING A CABINET OF HIS CHOICE IN NWFP.

18. THE PUBLIC ON THE WHOLE HAS ACCEPTED THE BAN,
ALTHOUGH MANY HAVE RESERVATIONS ABOUT WHETHER IT WAS
JUSTIFIED OR WISE. BHUTTO, WE UNDERSTAND, IS TRYING TO
NEGOTIATE WITH THE JAILED NAP LEADERS, OFFERING TO
RELEASE THEM IN RETURN FOR A POLITICAL COMPROMISE.
ALTHOUGH TERMS ARE UNKNOWN, WE SUSPECT THAT
POSITIONS ARE SO FAR APART THAT IT IS MORE LIKELY THAT
WALI KHAN AND THE OTHERS WILL PREFER TO REMAIN BEHIND
BARS WHILE, AT THE SAME TIME, WORKING THROUGH THEIR LAWYERS
TO PREPARE THEIR LEGAL CASE NOW BEFORE THE COURT. WHILE
SOME NAP MEMBERS HAVE MOVED UNDERGROUND AND A FEW FLED
TO AFGHANISTAN, THERE IS NO EVIDENCE THAT NAP SUPPORTERS
ARE WILLING TO USE FORCE AT THIS TIME. AJMAL KHATTAK
AND THE AFGHAN GOVERNMENT'S STATEMENTS IN SUPPORT OF
NAP ARE VIEWED AS A MIXED BLESSING. INsofar AS THEY
SUPPORT "DEMOCRACY" AND CONDEMN "REPRESSION" OF THE
PATHAN AND BALUCH, NAP PROBABLY WELCOMES THEM. WHEN
THEY SUGGEST THAT THESE FRONTIER PEOPLE BELONG IN
AFGHANISTAN, THEY ARE AN EMBARRASSMENT FOR IT IMPLIES
THAT NAP IS SECESSIONIST AND ENGAGED IN TREASON.

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 ISLAMA 02674 05 OF 05 310532Z

10

ACTION NEA-09

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-02

INR-07 L-02 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15

USIA-06 SAM-01 OMB-01 EB-07 AID-05 ACDA-05 AGR-05

TRSE-00 LAB-04 SIL-01 CU-02 /097 W
----- 041483

R 290826Z MAR 75

FM AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9384

INFO AMEMBASSY COLOMBO

AMEMBASSY DACCA

AMEMBASSY KABUL

AMCONSUL KARACHI

AMEMBASSY KATHMANDU

AMCONSUL LAHORE

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI

AMEMBASSY TEHRAN

CINCPAC

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 5 OF 5 ISLAMABAD 2674

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

19. THE UDF HAS REMAINED UNITED AND ACTIVE DESPITE
GOP EFFORTS TO SPLIT AND SILENCE IT. THE OPPOSITION
IS DISCOURAGED ABOUT THE EFFICACY OF PARTICIPATING IN
ASSEMBLY PROCEEDINGS AND BY-ELECTIONS WHEN THE GOVERN-
MENT, THEY CLAIM, IS UNWILLING TO PERMIT THEM TO PLAY
THEIR CONSTITUTIONAL ROLE. UDF LEADERS, OBVIOUSLY
WORRIED ABOUT THEIR OWN FUTURE AND UNCONVINCED OF NAP'S
TREASON, HAVE DEMANDED THE RELEASE OF THE NAP LEADERS.
THEY CONTINUE THEIR BOYCOTT OF PROVINCIAL AND NATIONAL
ASSEMBLIES AND, AT LEAST IN KARACHI, HAVE MOUNTED SMALL
DEMONSTRATIONS. WE DO NOT EXPECT THE UDF TO ENGAGE IN
VIOLENCE BUT TO CONTINUE THEIR SPEAKING TOURS AND,
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 ISLAMA 02674 05 OF 05 310532Z

PERHAPS, RESORT TO CIVIL-DISOBEDIENCE-TYPE PROGRAMS. TEHRIK-I-ISTIQLAL MAY FOLLOW SIMILAR POLICIES WITHOUT JOINING UDF, CONTINUING ITS CONTACT DRIVE FOCUSED ON URBAN, MIDDLE-CLASS AUDIENCES.

20. OTHER OPPOSITION CENTERS ARE FEW. LABOR IS GENERALLY QUIET EXCEPT WHERE TROUBLED TEXTILE MILLS HAVE LAID OFF WORKERS. WE NOTE WITH CONCERN, HOWEVER, THE RISE IN STUDENT UNREST AND THEIR WILLINGNESS TO USE VIOLENCE. THERE ARE BASIC, LONG STANDING PROBLEMS WHICH PRIMARILY RELATE TO SCARCITY OF OPPORTUNITY FOR ECONOMIC ADVANCEMENT AND STRAIN ON EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM AS RESULT OF DEMOCRATIZATION. COLLEGE STUDENTS ARE ACCUSED OF BEING SPOILED, LAZY, GREEDY, ROWDY. THE FEBRUARY 20/21 GOVERNMENT RAIDS ON COLLEGE CAMPUSES SPARKED IN SIND AND PUNJAB GREAT RESENTMENT, RALLIES, DEMONSTRATIONS AND SOME VIOLENCE. STUDENT VIOLENCE IN ISOLATION CAN BE HANDLED BY POLICY. THE THREAT TO GENERAL ORDER AND SECURITY WOULD ARISE IF SUCH INCIDENTS OCCURRED AT THE SAME TIME THAT OTHER GROUPS ALSO TOOK TO THE STREETS WITH THEIR OWN ECONOMIC GRIEVANCES (E.G., LABOR AND PROFESSIONALS). SUCH GROUPS AT PRESENT LACK THE LEADERSHIP, ORGANIZATION OR WILL TO THREATEN THE CURREMQ ESTABLISHMENT.

21. PROGNOSIS FOR THE FUTURE. IN THE PAST QUARTER, PAKISTAN HAS TAKEN A QUANTUM STEP TOWARD ONE PARTY, AUTHORITARIAN RULE. ALTHOUGH THE EVIDENCE IS MIXED, WE FEEL THAT BHUTTO WILL HOLD ON TO THE FACADE OF DEMOCRACY WHILE CONTINUING IN AN AUTHORITARIAN PATTERN. HE MAY HOPE THAT IMPROVED ECONOMIC CONDITIONS WILL DAMPEN DOWN PUBLIC DISSATISFACTION. ALTHOUGH HE APPEARS DETERMINED TO TREAT OPPOSITION LEADERS WITH A HEAVY HAND, HE MAY TRY TO PERSUADE THEIR FOLLOWERS THAT THERE IS MORE TO BE GAINED BY SUPPORTING A BENEFICENT GOVERNMENT THAN IN PERSISTING IN RESISTANCE TO POWER. THIS MAY SUCCEED IN THE SHORT TERM, BUT GIVEN PAKISTAN'S TROUBLED HISTORY OF REGIONAL RIVALRY, POLITICAL INSTABILITY AND AUTHORITARIAN RULE, THE KIND OF CONFRONTATION POLITICS BHUTTO HAS BEEN PLAYING MAY WELL OVER THE LONGER RUN SERIOUSLY DAMAGE THE FRAGILE POLITICAL FABRIC OF THE

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 ISLAMA 02674 05 OF 05 310532Z

COUNTRY.
BYROADE

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: QUARTERLY REPORTS, POLITICAL SITUATION, CENTRAL GOVERNMENT, POLITICAL PARTIES
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 29 MAR 1975
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: KelleyW0
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1975ISLAMA02674
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D750110-1018
From: ISLAMABAD
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1975/newtext/t1975034/aaaaadjg.tel
Line Count: 709
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION NEA
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 13
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: KelleyW0
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 30 JUN 2003
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <30 JUN 2003 by BoyleJA>; APPROVED <10 NOV 2003 by KelleyW0>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
05 JUL 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: PAKISTAN QUARTERLY INTERNAL POLITICAL ASSESSMENT SUMMARY: AS SO OFTEN IN PAKISTAN'S SHORT HISTORY
TAGS: PINT, PGOV, PINS, PK, (BHUTTO, ALI)
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 05 JUL 2006